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The following extracts  
are taken from various  
speeches of mine delivered  
at various times, and placed  
and I believe the con-  
tain the substance of  
all I have ever said  
about "Negro equality".  
The first three are from  
my answer to Judge  
Douglas, Oct. 16, 1854,  
at Boston.

This is the *repeat* of the Missouri Compromise. The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular; but I am sure it is sufficiently so, for all the uses I shall attempt to make of it, and in it, we have before us, the chief material enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.

I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong; wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska—and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world, where men can be found inclined to take it.

This *declared* indifference, but as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty—criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but *self-interest*.

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist amongst them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up.—This I believe of the mass's north and south.—Doubtless there are individuals on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some northern ones go south, and be-

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When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery, than we; I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it, in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying! I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this better their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next?—Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the south.

1870  
1871

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully, and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

But all this; to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa; and that which has so long forbid the taking them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.



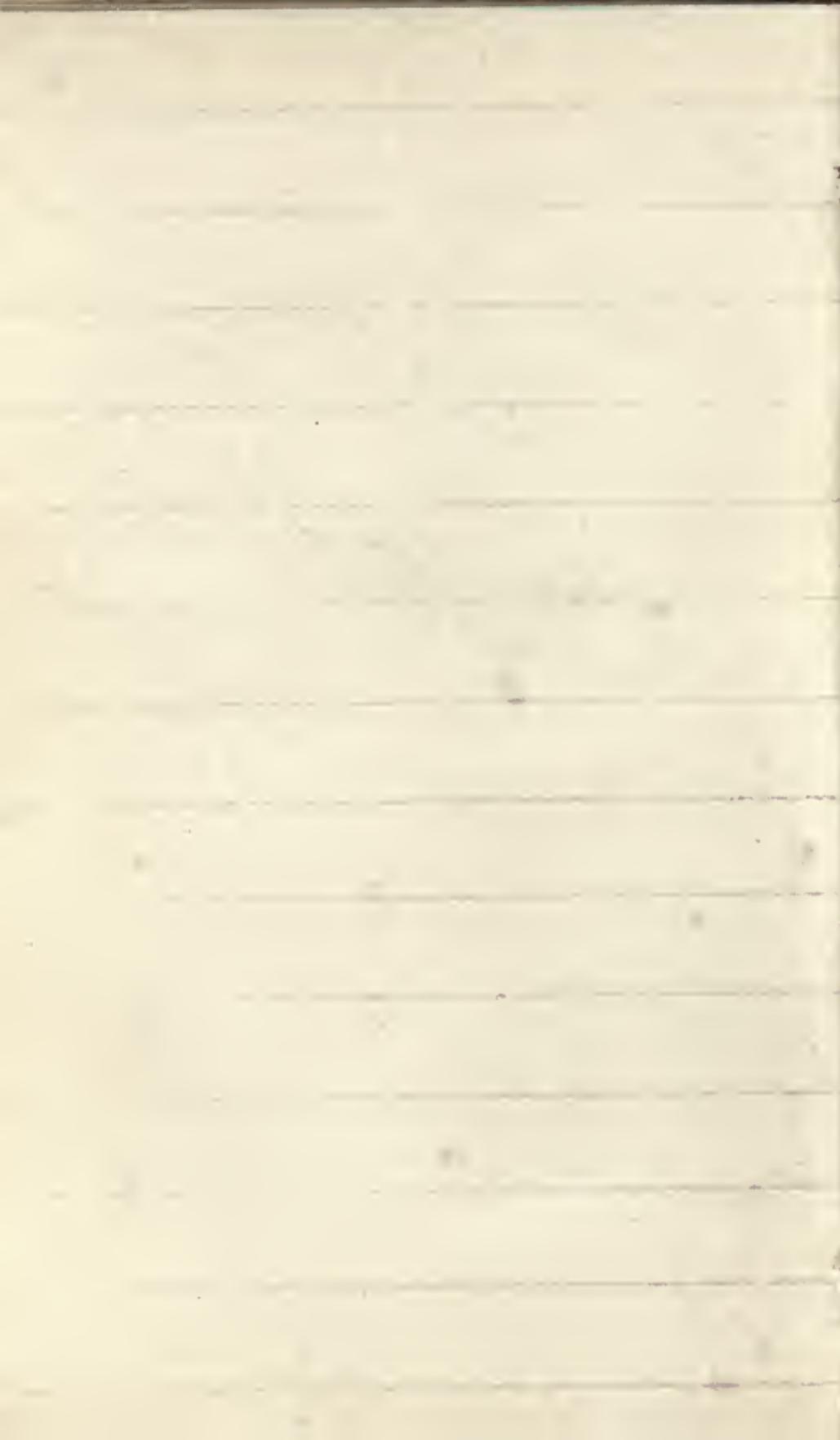
Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying "The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, *but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!*"

Well I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are, and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, *without that other's consent.* I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

"We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just power of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self government.

Let it not be said I am contending for the establishment of political and social equality between the whites and blacks. I have already said the contrary. I am not now combating the argument of slaves, *pro*, arising from the fact



2

that the blacks are already amongst us; but I am  
combating what is set up as MORAL argument  
for allowing them to be taken where they have  
never yet been--arguing against the EXISTENCE  
of a bad thing, which where it already exists  
we must of necessity, manage as we best can.



In the course of his reply, Senator Douglas remarked, in substance, that he had always considered this government was made for the white people and not for the negroes. Why, in point of mere fact, I think so too. But in this remark of the Judge, there is a significance, which I think is the key to the great mistake (if there is any such mistake) which he has made in this Nebraska measure. It shows that the Judge has no very vivid impression that the negro is a human; and consequently has no idea that there can be any moral question in legislating about him. In his view, the question of whether a new country shall be slave or free, is a matter of as utter indifference, as it is whether his neighbor shall plant his farm with tobacco, or stock it with horned cattle. Now, whether this view is right or wrong, it is very certain that the great mass of mankind take a totally different view.— They consider slavery a great moral wrong; and their feelings against it, is not evanescent, but eternal. It lies at the very foundation of their sense of justice; and it cannot be trifled with.— It is a great and durable element of popular action, and, I think, no statesman can safely disregard it.

The fourth extract is  
from a speech delivered  
June 26 - 1857, at Spring  
field.

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal *in all respects*.— They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with “certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” This they said, and this meant.— They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them.— In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right*, so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.

They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that “all men are created equal” was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should re-appear in this fair land and commence their vocation they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

The following marked  
5- is from my speech  
at Chicago, July 10. 1858.  
Because Garrison ex-  
tracts so often letters  
from this speech, I have  
given the whole which  
touches "Negro equality!"

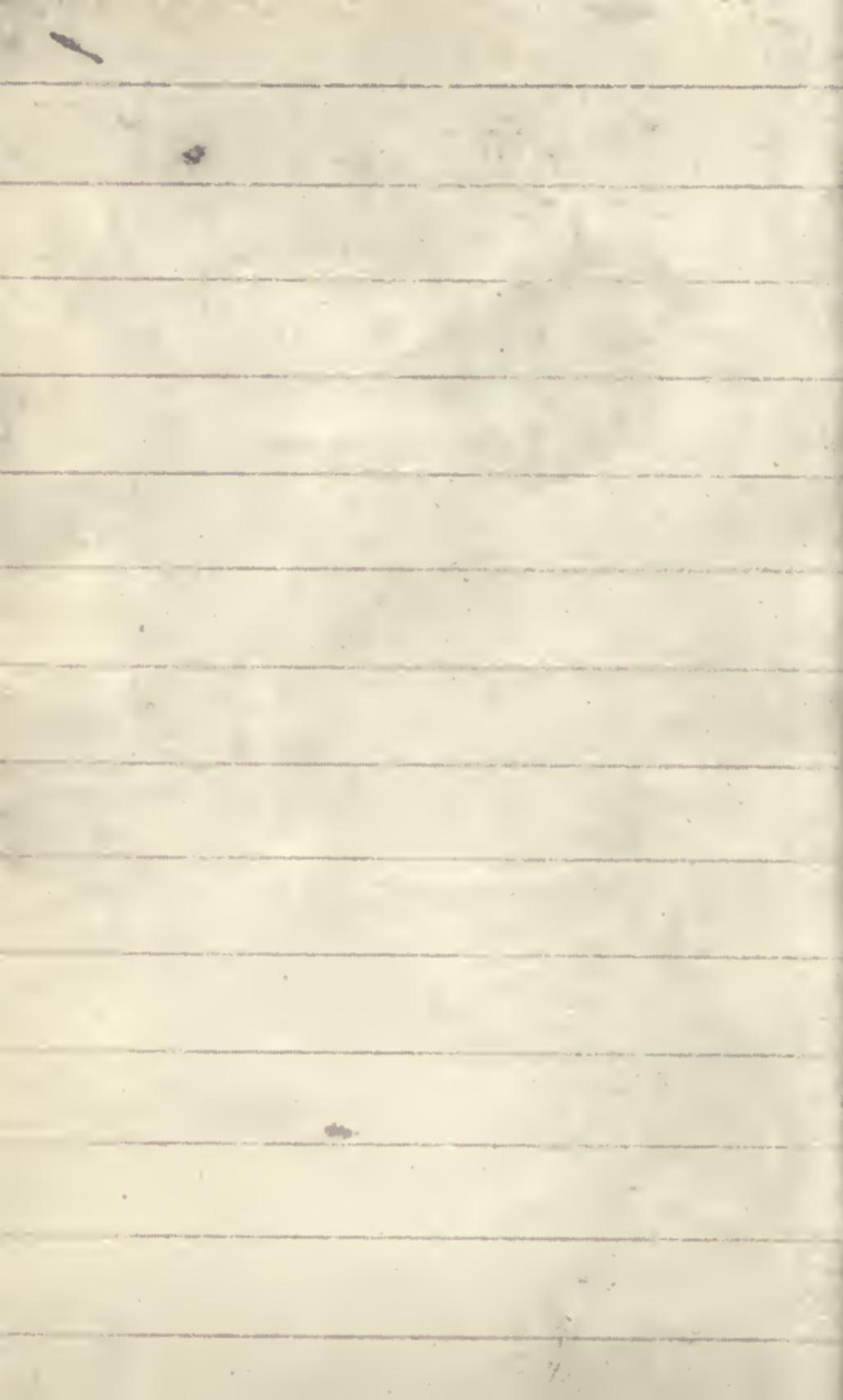
5  
We were often—more than once, at least—in the course of Judge Douglas' speech last night, reminded that this government was made for white men—that he believed it was made for white men! Well, that is putting it in a shape in which no one wants to deny it, but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. [Laughter and cheers.] My understanding is that I need not have her for either, but as God make us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby—

There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and black men enough to marry all the black women, and in God's name let them be so married. The Judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we will not let them get together in the Territoriss, they wont mix there. [Immense applause.]

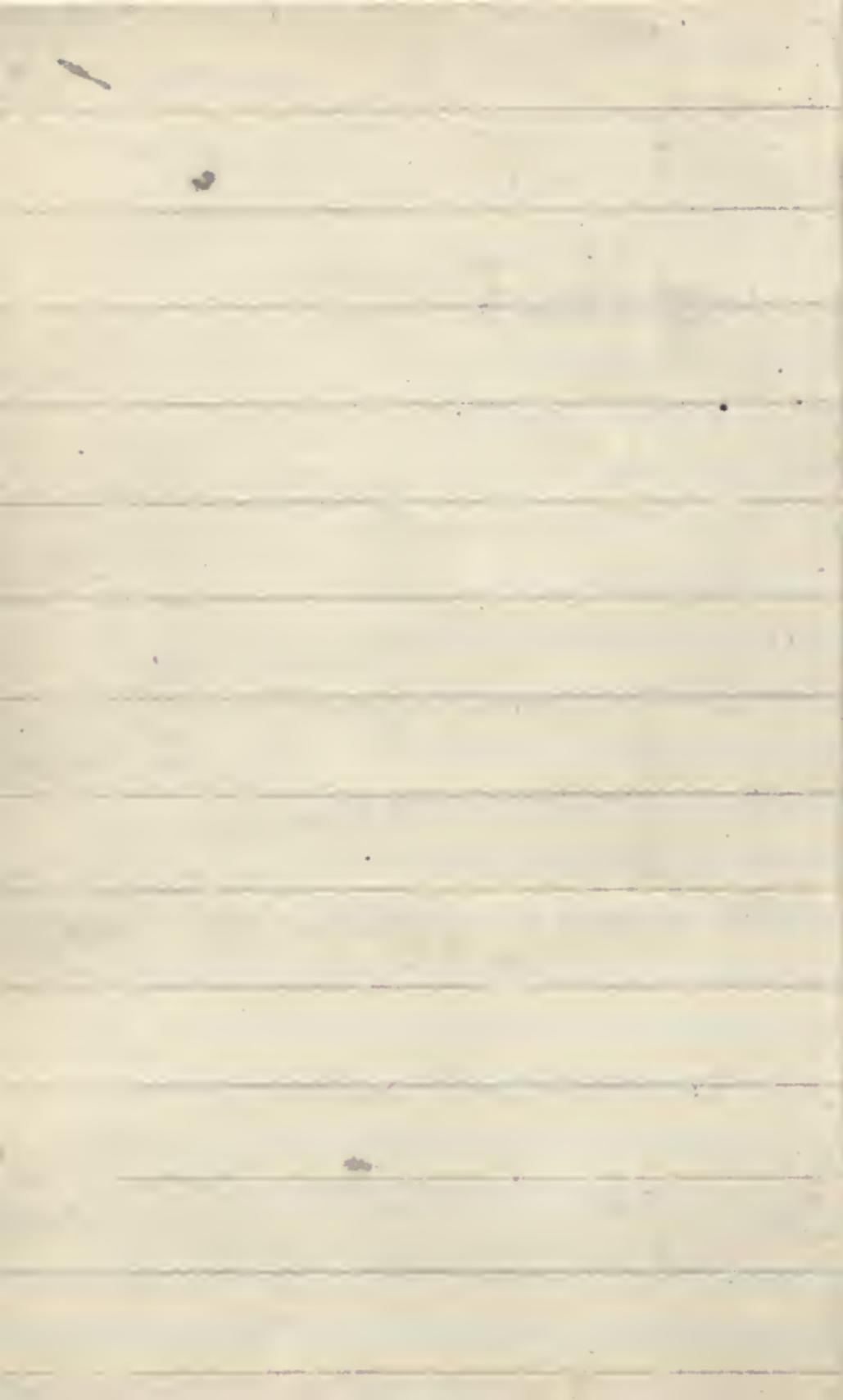
A voice—"Three cheers for Lincoln."—  
[The cheers were given with a hearty good will.]

Mr Lincoln—I should say at least that is a self-evident truth.

Now, it happens that we meet together once every year, sometime about the 4th of July, for some reason or other. These 4th of July gatherings, I suppose, have their uses. If you will indulge me, I will state what I suppose to be some of them.

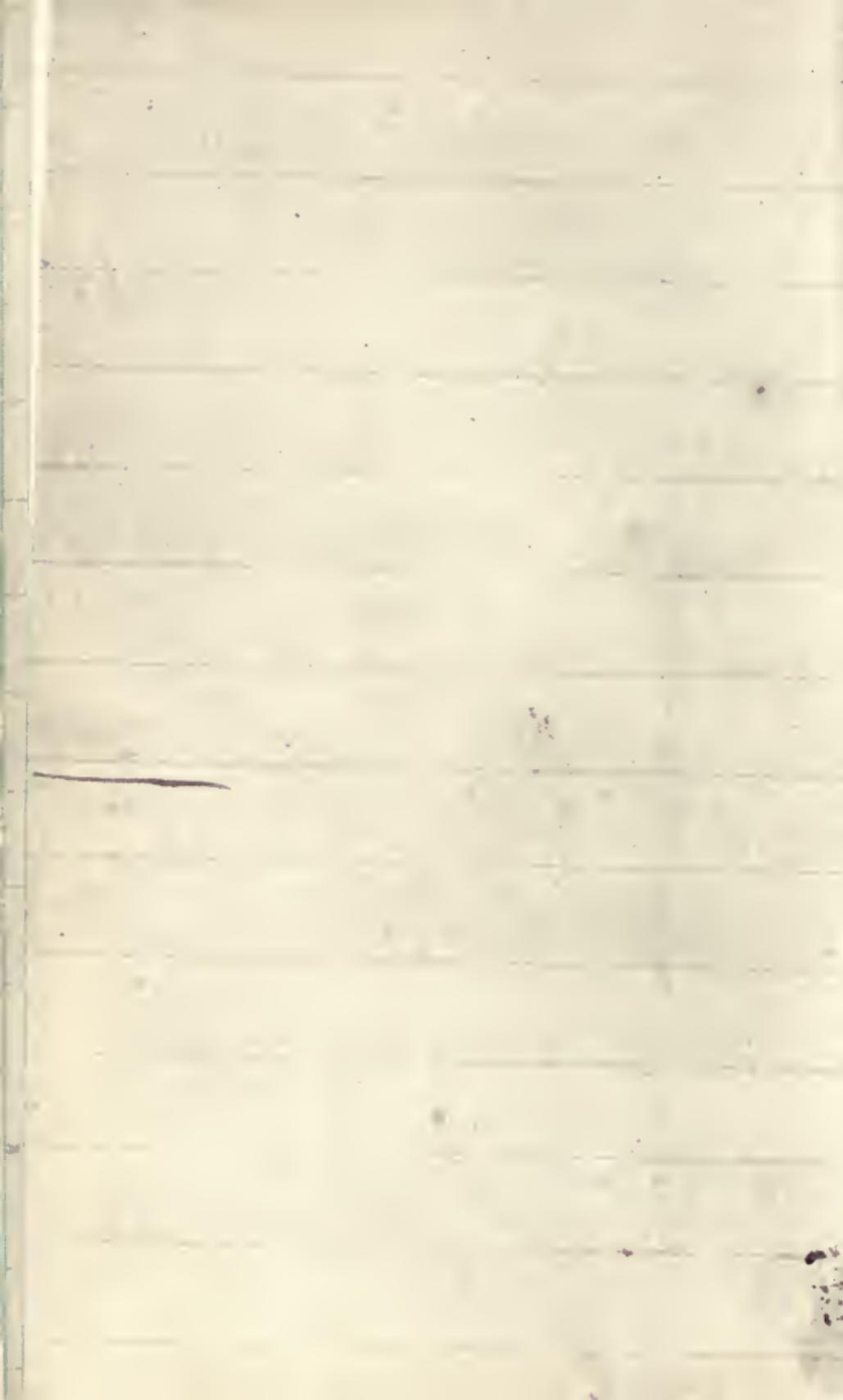


—We are now a mighty nation, we are thirty—or about thirty millions of people, and we own and inhabit about a fifteenth part of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years and we discover that we were then a very small people in point of numbers, vastly inferior to what we are now, with a vastly less extent of country—with vastly less of every thing we deem desirable among men—we look upon the change as exceedingly advantageous to us and to our posterity, and we fix upon something that happened away back, as in some way or other being connected with this rise of prosperity. We find a race of men living at that day whom we claim as our fathers and grandfathers; they were iron men; they fought for the principle that they were contending for; and we understand that by what they then did it has followed that the degree of prosperity that we now enjoy has come to us. We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time, of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves; we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. In every way we are better men in the age, and race, and country in which we live for these celebrations. But after we have done all this we have not yet reached the whole. There is something else connected with it.—We have besides these men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French and Scandinavians—men that have come from Europe themselves or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding them-



back through this history to trace their connections with those days by blood, they find they have none, they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us, but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that those old men say that "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal," and then they feel that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of blood, and flesh of the flesh of the man who wrote that Declaration—[loud and long applause] and so they are. That is the electric cord in that Declaration links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world. [Applause.]

Now, sirs, for the purpose of squaring things with this idea of "don't care if slavery is voted up or voted down," for sustaining the Dred Scott decision, [A voice—"Hit him again,"] for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean anything at all; we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying it means simply that the people of America were equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it. Now I ask you in all soberness, if all these things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and indorsed, if taught to our children and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this government into a government of some other form? What are these



arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument and this argument of the Judge is the same old serpent that says you work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it.

Turn it whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king, as excuse for enslaving the people of his country or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent, and I hold if that course of argumentation which is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and no making exception to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another say it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not truth let us get the statute book in which we find it and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true let us bear it out! [Cries of “no, no,”] Let us stick to it then. [Cheers.] Let us stand firmly by it then. [Applause.]



It may be argued that there are certain conditions that make necessities and impose them upon us, and to the extent that a necessity is imposed upon a man he must submit to it.—

I think that was the condition in which we found ourselves when we established the government. We had slaves among us, we could not get our constitution unless we permitted them to remain in slavery, we could not secure the good we did secure if we grasped for more, and having by necessity submitted to that much, it does not destroy the principle that is the charter of our liberties. Let that charter stand as our standard.

My friend has said to me that I am a poor hand to quote Scripture. I will try it again, however. It is said in one of the admonitions of the Lord, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." The Saviour, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven; but He said, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be you perfect." He set that up as a standard, and he who did most towards reaching that standard, attained the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal. Let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. [Applause.] Let us then turn this government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it. Let us stand firmly by each other. If we do not do so we are turning in the contrary direction, which our friend Judge Douglas proposes—not intentionally—as worknig in the traces tending to make this a universal slave nation. [A voice—"that is so."] He is one that runs in that direction, and as such I resist him.



My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desired to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding the standard we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

My friends, I could not without launching off upon some new topic, which would detain you so long, continue to-night. [Cries of "go on."] I thank you for this most extensive audience which you have furnished me to-night. I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal.

Mr. Lincoln retired amid a perfect torrent of applause and cheers.

The following marked  
b, was brought in im-  
mediately, after reading  
the first extract in  
the scrap-book, in  
the first joint meet-  
ing with Judge De-  
glas, Aug. 21-1858 at  
Ottawa.

Now gentlemen, I don't want to read of any  
greater length, but this is the true complexion of  
I have ever said in regard to the institution of  
slavery and the black race. This is the whole of  
it, and anything that argues me into his idea of  
perfect social and political equality with the negro,  
is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of  
words, by which a man can prove a horse chestnut  
to be a chestnut horse. [Laughter] I will say  
here, while upon this subject, that I have no pur-  
pose directly or indirectly to interfere with the  
institution of slavery in the States where it  
exists. I believe I have no lawful right to  
do so, and I have no inclination to do so.  
I have no purpose to introduce  
political and social equality between the white  
and the black races. There is a physical differ-  
ence between the two, which in my judgment  
will probably forever forbid their living together  
upon the footing of perfect equality, and inas-  
much as it becomes a necessity that there must  
be a difference. I, as well as Judge Douglas,  
am in favor of the race to which I belong, hav-  
ing the superior position. I have never said  
anything to the contrary, but I hold that not-  
withstanding all this, there is no reason in the  
world why the negro is not entitled to all the  
natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of  
Independence, the right to life, liberty and the  
pursuit of happiness. [Loud cheers.] I hold  
that he is as much entitled to these as the white  
man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my  
equal in many respects—certainly not in color,  
perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment.  
But in the right to eat the bread, without leave  
of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he  
is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and  
the equal of every living man. [Great applause.]

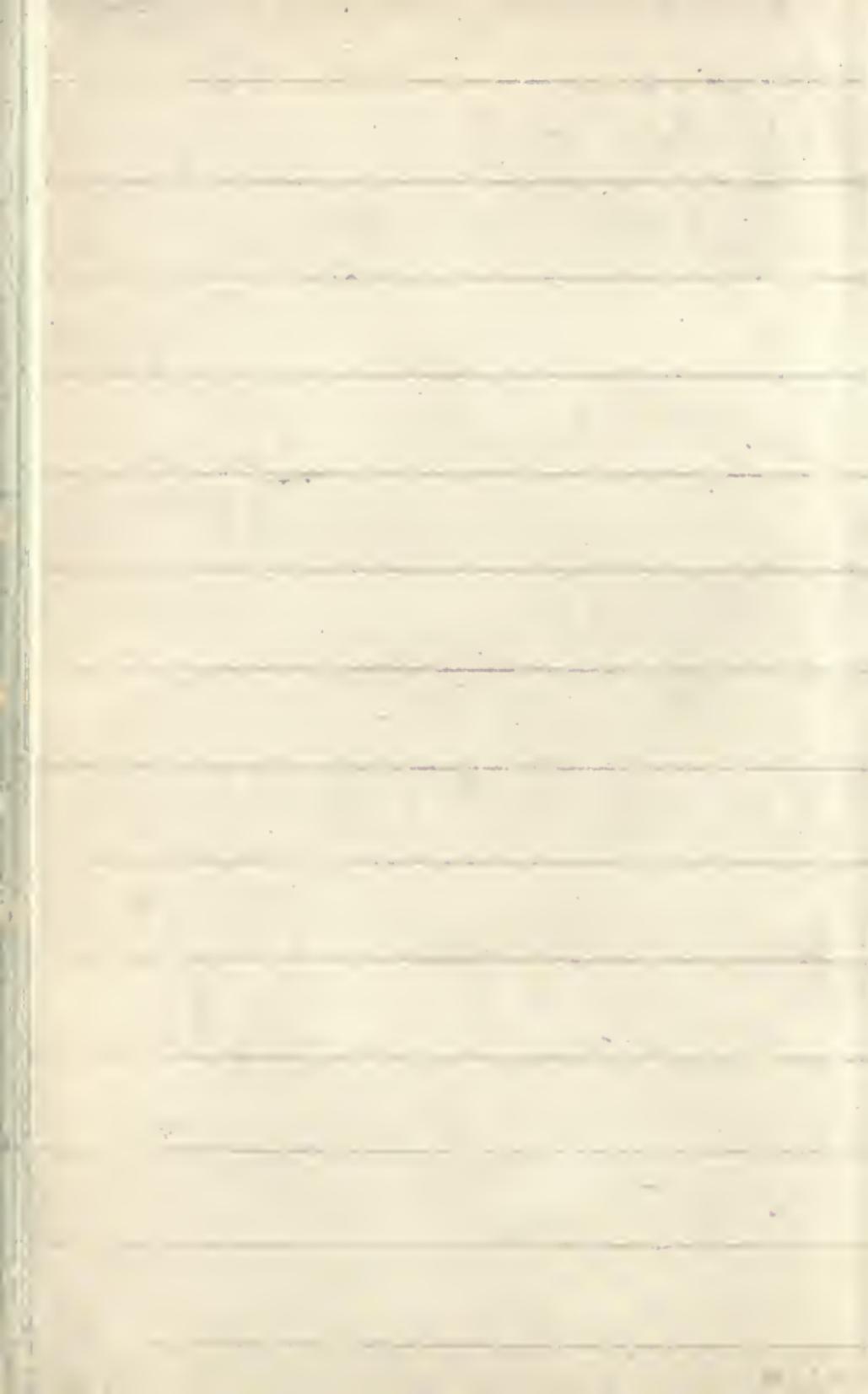
The following, marked  
7 is from my speech  
in the fourth joint meet-  
ing, Sep. 18. 1858 at  
Charleston.

7  
While I was at the hotel to-day  
gentleman called me

was really in favor of producing a perfect  
equality between the negroes and white peo-  
ple. [Great laughter.] While I had not pro-  
posed to myself on this occasion to say much  
on that subject, yet as the question was asked  
me I thought I would occupy perhaps five  
minutes in saying something in regard to it.  
I will say then that I am not, nor ever have  
been in favor of bringing about in any way  
the social and political equality of the white  
and black races, [applause]—that I am not  
nor ever have been in favor of making voters  
or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them  
to hold office, nor to intermarry with white  
people; and I will say in addition to this that  
there is a physical difference between the  
white and black races which I believe will for  
ever forbid the two races living together on  
terms of social and political equality. And  
inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they  
do remain together there must be the posi-  
tion of superior and inferior, and I as much as  
any other man am in favor of having the  
superior position assigned to the white race.  
I say upon this occasion I do not perceive  
that because the white man is to have the  
superior position the negro should be denied  
everything. I do not understand that  
because I do not want a negro woman for a  
slave I must necessarily want her for a wife.  
[Cheers and laughter.] My understanding  
is that I can just let her alone. I am now



in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen to my knowledge a man, woman or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between negroes and white men. I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I ever heard of so frequently as to be entirely satisfied of its correctness—and that is the case of Judge Douglas' old friend Col. Richard M. Johnson. [Laughter.] I will also add to the remarks I have made, (for I am not going to enter at large upon this subject,) that I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry negroes if there was no law to keep them from it, [laughter] but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there were no law to keep them from it, [roars of laughter] I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last stand by the law of this State, which forbids the marrying of white people with negroes. [Continued laughter and applause.] I will add one further word, which is this, that I do not understand there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made except in the State Legislature—not in the Congress of the United States—and as I do not really apprehend the approach of any such thing myself, and as Judge Douglas seems to be in constant horror that some such danger is rapidly approaching, I propose as the best means to prevent it that the Judge be kept at home and placed in the State Legislature to fight the measure. [Uproarious laughter and applause.] I do not propose dwelling longer at this time on this subject.



Springfield, Oct. 18. 1858

Hon. J. N. Brown

My dear Sir

I do not per-  
ceive how I can express  
myself more plainly, than  
I have done in the forego-  
ing extracts - In four of  
them I have expressly  
disclaimed all intention  
to bring about social and  
political equality between  
the white and black races,  
and, in all the rest,

I have done the same  
thing by clear implica-  
tion

I have made it equally  
plain that I think  
the negro is included  
in the word "men" used  
in the Declaration of In-  
dependence.

I believe the declara-  
tion that "all men are cre-  
ated equal" is the  
great fundamental  
principle upon which

our few institutions rest;  
that negro slavery is vio-  
lative of that principle;  
but that, by our forms  
of government, that prin-  
ciple has not been made  
one of legal obligation;  
that by our forms of gov-  
ernment, the states which  
have slavery are to re-  
tain it, or surrender  
it at their own pleas-  
ure; and that all other  
individuals, per. state

and national governments  
— are constitutionally bound  
to leave them alone about  
it.

I believe our government  
was thus framed because  
of the necessity of chang-  
ing from the actual  
presence of slavery, when  
it was found.

That such necessity  
does not exist in the  
territories, where slavery  
is not present.

In his Mendenhall speech  
Mr. Clay says

"Now, as an abstract prin-  
ciple, there is no doubt  
of the truth of that de-  
claration (all men created  
equal) and it is desir-  
able, in the original con-  
struction of society, and  
in organized societies, to  
keep it in view as a  
great fundamental prin-  
ciple."

Again, in the same speech

Mr. Leland says:

"If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundations of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements;

Exactly so. In our new free territories, a state of nature does exist. In them law

gress lays the founda-  
tion of society; and,  
in laying those founda-  
tions, I say, with Mr  
Cley, it is desirable  
that the declaration  
of the equality of all  
men shall be kept  
in view, as a great  
fundamental principle;  
and that Congress, which  
lays the foundation of  
society, should, like  
Mr Cley, be strongly

opposed to the incorpo-  
ration of slavery among  
its elements -

But it does not follow  
that social and political  
equality between whites and blacks,  
all equality, must be  
incorporated, because  
slavery must not -  
The declaration does  
not so require -

Yours as ever  
A. Lincoln





# **LINCOLN: HIS BOOK**

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*AN EXPLANATORY NOTE.*

Copyright, 1901, by  
McClure, Phillips & Co.  
New York

A B R A H A M  
L I N C O L N

*HIS BOOK*

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A FACSIMILE REPRODUC-  
TION OF THE ORIGINAL

WITH AN

*EXPLANATORY NOTE*

BY

J. McCAN DAVIS

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NEW YORK:

*McCLURE, PHILLIPS & CO.*

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1901

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GIFT OF

A. F. MORRISON

## **ABRAHAM LINCOLN—HIS BOOK.**

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This book—the only one now or ever extant of its illustrious authorship—owes its existence to the political campaign of 1858, when the opposing candidates for United States Senator from Illinois were Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. The issue was slavery—whether, as Mr. Lincoln contended, it should be restricted to the states in which it already existed, or, as Judge Douglas advocated, it should be permitted to invade the new territories if agreeable to the people thereof.

Mr. Lincoln, at that time, did not advocate emancipation. He made no demand for the liberation of the slaves then in bondage. He made no plea for negro citizenship. While he regarded slavery, as he had declared as early as 1837, as “founded on both injustice and

bad policy," and of course hoped for its "ultimate extinction," he recognized its constitutional status in the states in which it then had an existence, and, without any purpose to disturb it there, raised his voice only against its further extension.

His position, however, was constantly misstated by his opponents. Judge Douglas made the charge of "abolitionism," and the accusation was reiterated throughout the state, from the beginning to the end of the campaign, by Democratic orators and newspapers. It was charged that Lincoln stood for the equality of the races, politically and socially; and it was pointed out, with alarm and indignation, that should his doctrines prevail, there would be inevitable social and political chaos. Whites and blacks would intermarry promiscuously; the impassable line which had so long separated the two races would be wholly obliterated; the hated black man would be invested with political privileges which hitherto had been counted the white man's exclusive and sacred rights.

There were few sections of Illinois where prejudice against the negro was stronger than in Sangamon county, the home of Mr. Lincoln. The city of Springfield and the adjacent country was inhabited largely by natives of Kentucky. Before coming to Illinois they had been accustomed to slavery, and, while many agreed with Mr. Lincoln that the institution was fundamentally wrong and ought to be restricted, the remotest suggestion of making a negro their social and political equal was abhorrent. It was this prejudice that kept so many of the Whigs, even after their party was manifestly doomed to extinction, from joining the new Republican party. It was this influence that gave Fillmore his strength in Illinois in 1856, and, by dividing the anti-Democratic forces, gave the state's electoral vote to Buchanan.

The widespread fear of "negro equality" was at once recognized by Mr. Lincoln as the most portentous obstacle to the success of the new party. It made the Old Line Whigs—his life-long political associates—hesitant,

wavering, and distrustful. Some of them had already gone over to the Democracy.

In 1857 there was no longer any doubt that the Whig party could never survive another election. It was, in truth, already dead. Many of the Old Whigs of Sangamon county were still at sea, not knowing whither to turn for safe and congenial affiliations. There were really but two courses open—they must join the new Republican party, with its advanced and distrusted doctrines on slavery, or they must join the pro-slavery Democracy, which they had been fighting from time immemorial.

It was this dilemma which brought together, one day in that year, a few Sangamon county men who long had been prominent in the Whig party councils. The assemblage, in a retrospective view, was notable and historic, though at the time it was but a quiet conference of friends, for whose proceedings we are indebted wholly to a trustworthy tradition. There were present, among others, Judge Stephen T. Logan and Major John T. Stuart,

both of whom had been Lincoln's law partners; Colonel John Williams, Major Elijah Hles, and Captain James N. Brown. There was a full and frank discussion of the difficult problem. Every one present expressed his views and intentions. Some had joined the Republicans in the previous year; others were now ready to do so, while several, like Major Stuart, although not yet prepared to go with the Democracy, declared that they never could be Republicans.

Captain Brown, when called upon to state his position, said: "My friends, I have been a Whig all my life. I cannot be a Democrat. From this time on, I am a Lincoln Republican."

Mr. Lincoln, up to this point, had not been present; but he stepped into the room just in time to hear Captain Brown's declaration.

This conference was followed by another early in 1858. It was a Republican meeting this time, and of great local importance. Captain Brown was there, and so was Lincoln. The matter under consideration was the per-

sonnel of the local ticket for the campaign then about to open. The master spirit of the occasion was Mr. Lincoln. He talked at length and emphasized the importance of a policy which would set at rest the minds of the Old Whigs who still remained practically without a party—showing them that the new party was not the exponent of “abolitionism,” as had been alleged against it, but that it stood only for the conservative doctrine of the restriction of slavery to existing limitations. Captain Brown, like Lincoln, was a native of Kentucky, coming of a distinguished family of that state (his father, Colonel William Brown, a veteran of the war of 1812, having served in Congress with Henry Clay, defeating Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who was subsequently United States Senator and Vice-President). He had been a life-long Whig, and, like many of his party associates, had kept out of the Republican party in 1856, voting for Fillmore. He had long been a personal friend of Lincoln, and was, moreover, a man of blameless reputation.

Mr. Lincoln, at this meeting, urged the nomination of Captain Brown as one of the party's candidates for the legislature. Brown did not want the nomination, and said so; he had served four terms in the House (including one term with Lincoln, back in 1840 and '41), and was now averse to longer public service. But Lincoln was insistent, and made an argument which disclosed in him the astute politician that all recognized him to be.

“You must run,” he said to Brown. “We cannot, must not, nominate an Eastern man; he would be beaten. We must have the votes of the Old Line Whigs. You have been a Whig; you are a Kentuckian; you have been a slave-holder. You will get the support of the large conservative element—the Old Line Whigs and the men of Southern birth and sympathies who, while willing to let slavery remain where it is, are with us against its further extension, but who would be afraid to trust an Eastern man,” and he called off the names of a half-hundred Old Line Whigs of local prominence who would

vote for such a man as Brown, but would oppose a candidate of Eastern birth or of doubtful antecedents.

Captain Brown, persuaded to an acceptance by Lincoln's unanswerable logic, was later nominated for the lower branch of the General Assembly, his associate on the ticket being John Cook, son of a Kentuckian, and afterwards a Union General in the Civil War.

Popular feeling was intensified as the campaign progressed. The old prejudice against the negro, inbred in the men of Southern nativity—the heritage of many generations of perverted opinion—was found deep-rooted and bitter. Entering upon his canvass, Captain Brown was confronted everywhere with the charge that Lincoln stood for “negro equality,” social and political.

“Why, Brown!” his old friends would say, in astonishment, “How can you, a Kentuckian, yourself once a slaveholder, stand for a Black Abolitionist—a man who says the negro is your equal and mine?”

Personally, of course, Captain Brown understood Lincoln's position perfectly; but there were many whom he found it impossible to convince that Lincoln held no such views as were ascribed to him.

He felt the necessity for something authoritative—a statement from Mr. Lincoln himself, setting forth his views in lucid and unmistakable language. Late in the campaign he asked Mr. Lincoln for such a statement. Mr. Lincoln went over his published speeches for several previous years, including those in his debate with Douglas just then concluded, and clipped out whatever he had said on the subject of “negro equality.” These extracts he pasted into a small pocket memorandum book, making explanatory notes wherever needed. He supplemented this printed matter with a letter addressed to Captain Brown, filling eight pages of the little book. This letter, containing the essence of all he had previously said, was the most recent and authoritative statement of his views which he could possibly have made, and it was precisely the

thing which his friend and supporter had felt the need of throughout his canvass.

The close of the campaign was near, only about two weeks of it remaining, but the time was fully utilized by Captain Brown. He carried the book in his pocket, and whenever Lincoln's "negro equality" views were questioned—and this must have been many times every day, in the course of his public speeches and private conversations—he would produce the book and read from it "Lincoln's own words," placed there by Lincoln himself only a few days before.

But no argument was strong enough to overcome the prejudice then so widespread and unreasoning, and both legislative candidates (one of Southern birth, and the other of Southern ancestry) failed of election.

The book, of course, had been intended by Mr. Lincoln only to meet a temporary requirement, and very likely he had no idea that it would survive the campaign of 1858; but Captain Brown carefully preserved it and must have carried it with him in 1860 and in sub-

sequent campaigns, for he filled out the remaining leaves with many later newspaper scraps of his own selection.

Captain Brown died in 1868. The Lincoln scrap-book passed to his sons, William and Benjamin W. Brown, of Grove Park, Illinois, by whom it is still owned, and to whom we are indebted for the facts pertaining to its history.

It is the unique renown of this book that it is the only one ever written or compiled by Abraham Lincoln. It is reproduced here, as nearly as possible, precisely as it came from his pen and his hand.

**J. McCAN DAVIS.**



**A "PARAMOUNT ISSUE"**  
**IN 1858.**

NOTE.—On the opposite page is the “scare head” of a double-leaded article which the “Illinois State Register” kept standing in its columns for some time previous to the election of 1858. The “State Register” was the organ of Senator Douglas at the State Capital. The article illustrates the preëminence of “negro equality” as an issue in the campaign of 1858, from the Democratic point of view.

J. McC. D.

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**PEOPLE OF SANGAMON!**

**REMEMBER**

**A VOTE FOR COOK AND BROWN**

**IS A VOTE FOR**

**LINCOLN AND NEGRO**

**EQUALITY!**

**VOTE FOR**

**BARRET and SHORT**

**AND SUSTAIN**

**DOUGLAS**

**AND**

**POPULAR RIGHTS.**

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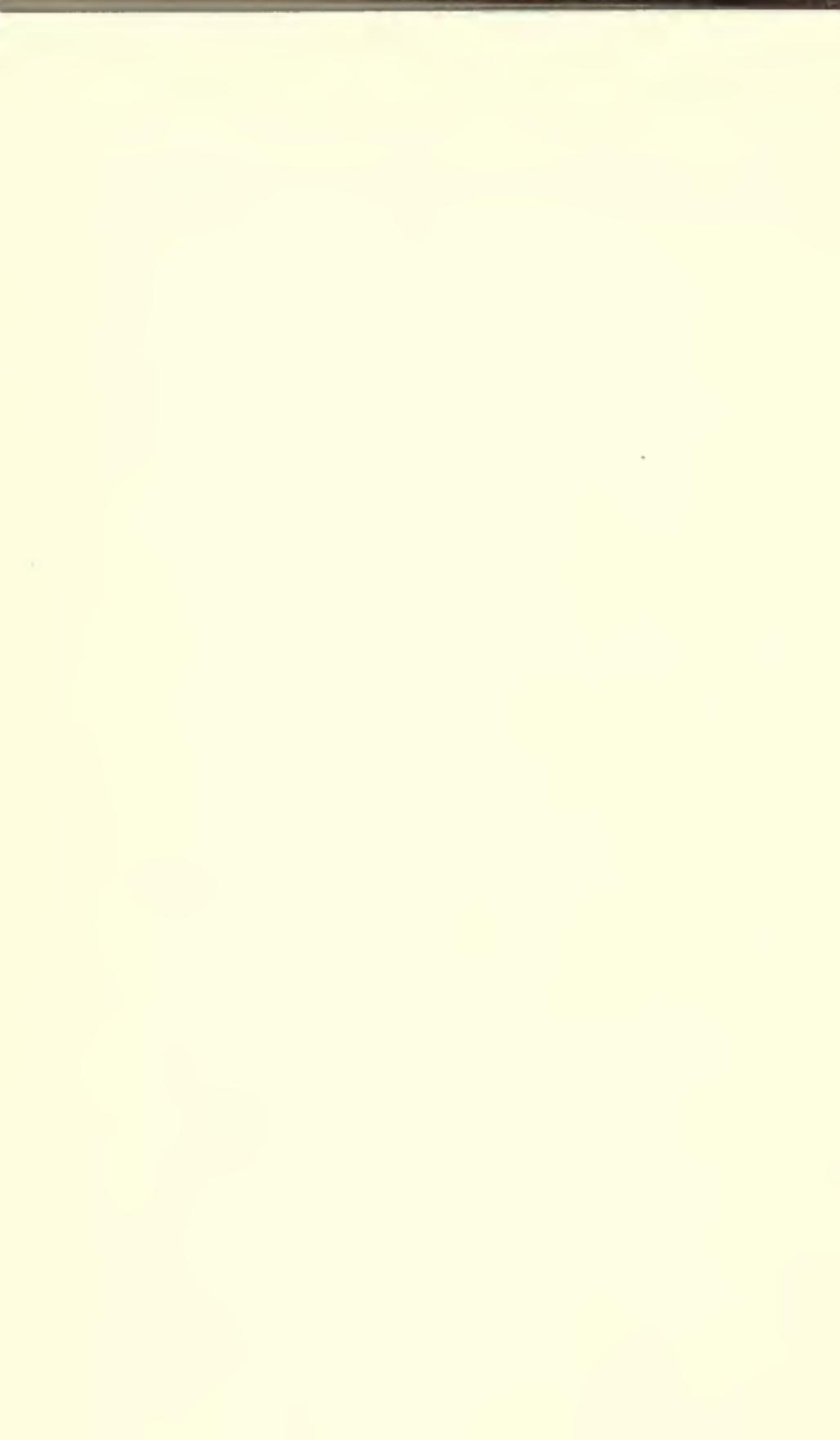
























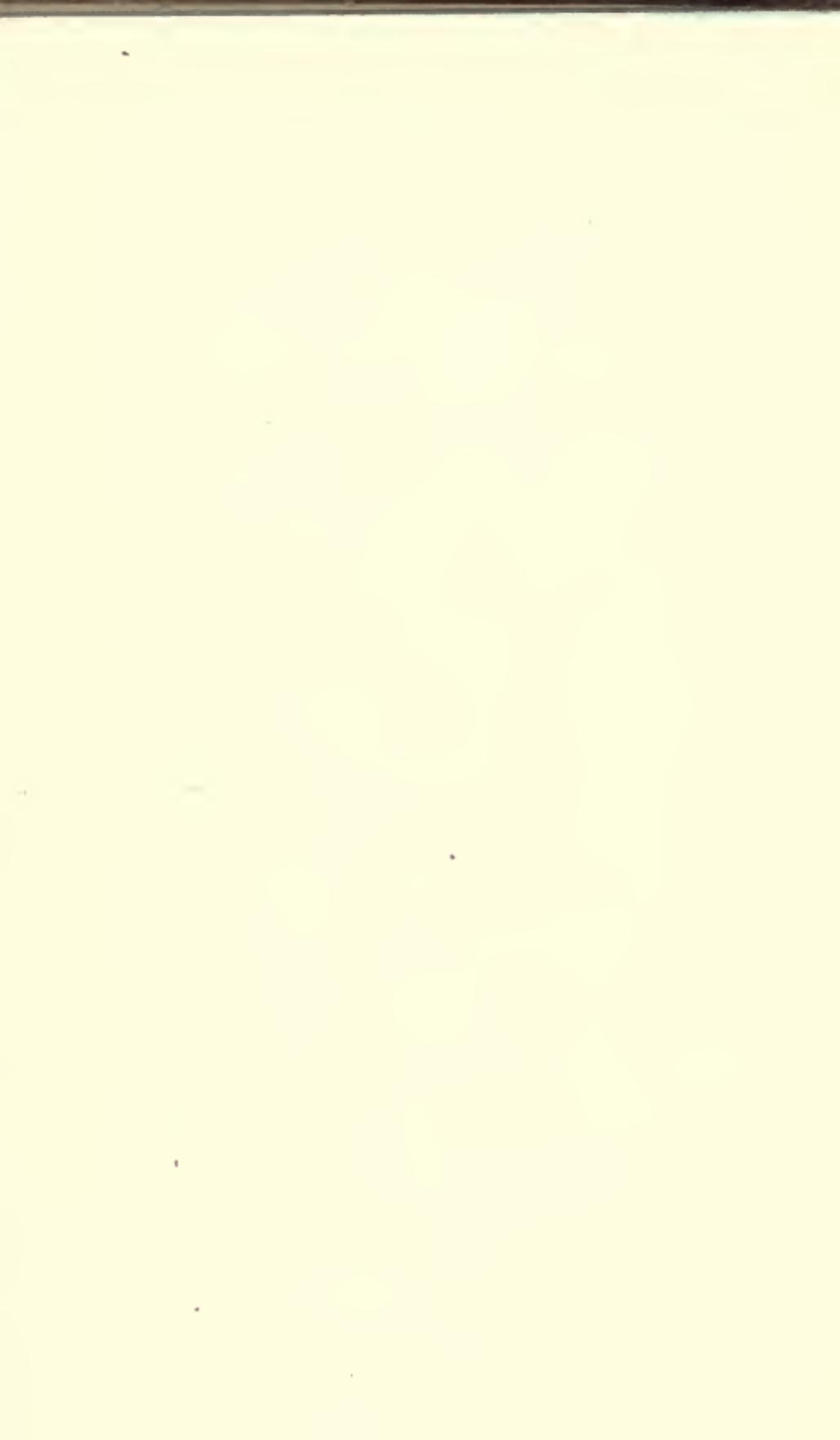








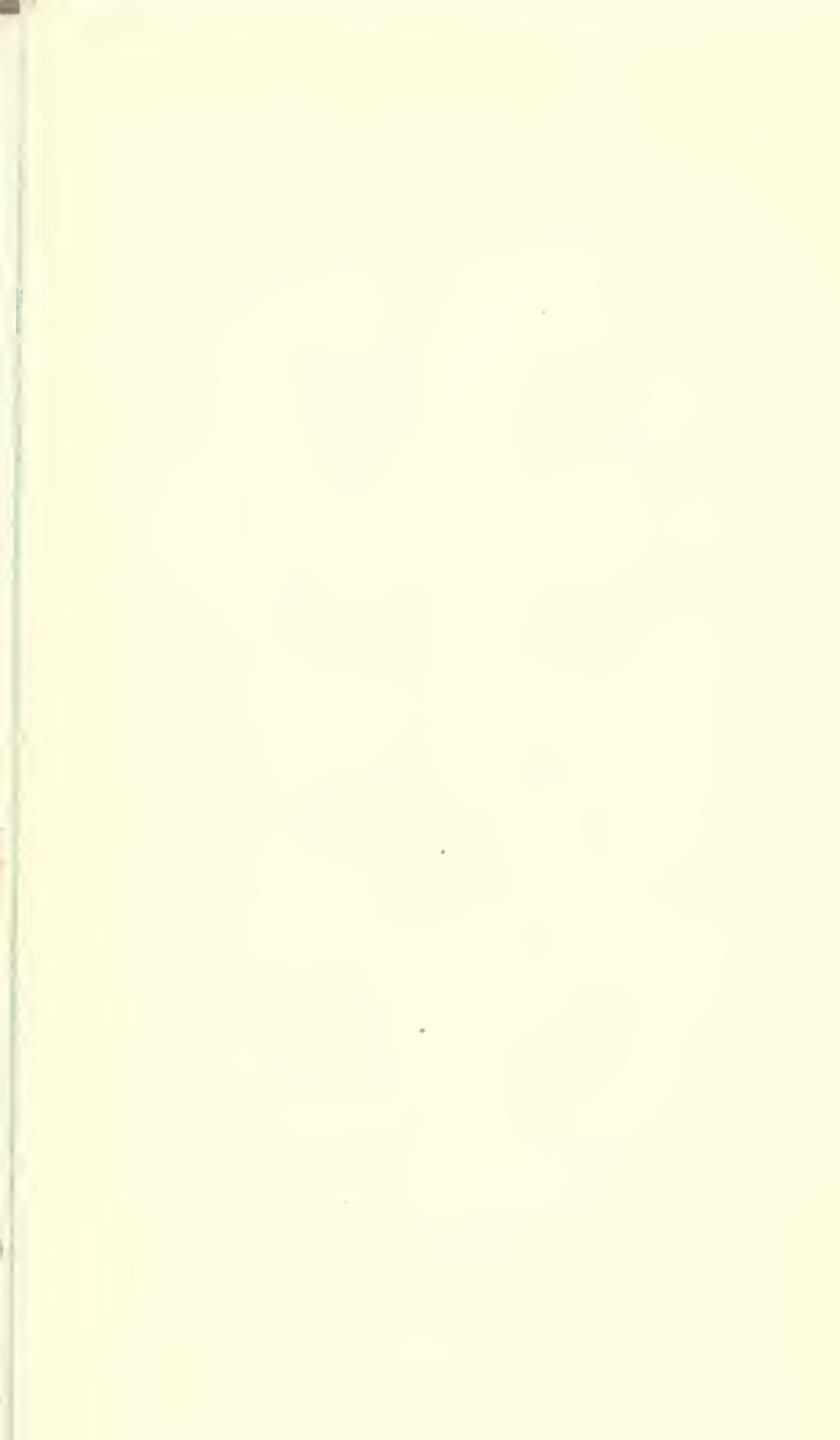








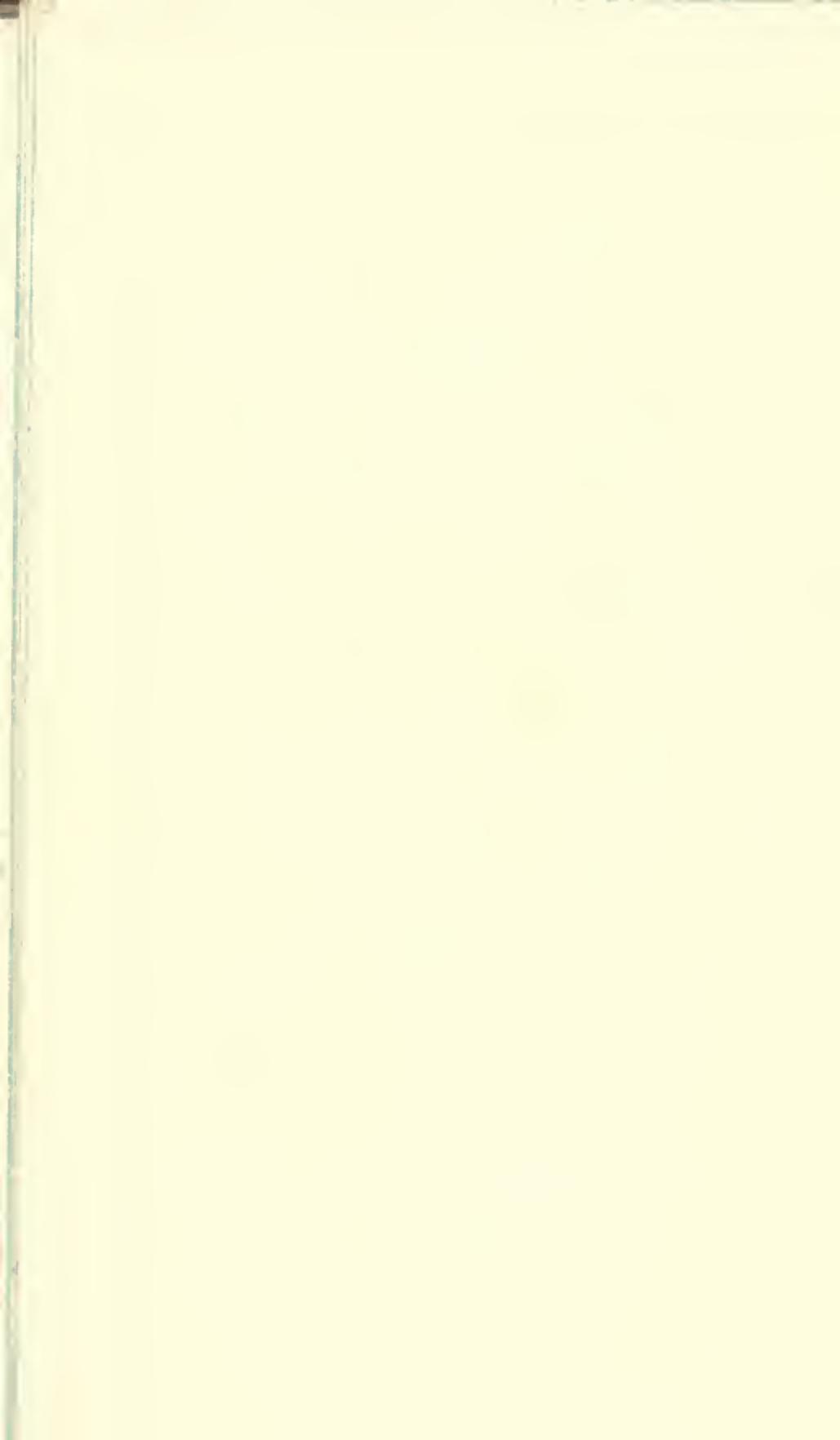


















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